HOLIDAY SEASON IS NEAR — SHOP GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE See pp. 6-7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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They want the world to let them in

These are children of Outer Mongolia, shown at the Choibalsan School at Ulan Bator, reading a picture magazine. U. S. delegate Lodge insists they and their parents have no place in the UN. Just about all the rest of the world says they have, and the resultant arm-twisting by the U. S. is extremely vigorous. In Outer Mongolia, a million people have made great strides in education, health (hospital teams go by plane to remote areas) and agriculture. For more news of the UN, see p. 5.

THE TIDE IS RISING

New racist groups formed in South as angry Negroes say 'We've had enough!'

By Eugene Gordon

THE DIXIECRAT SOUTH's defiance of the Supreme Court is not "defiance of Negroes or the NAACP," special counsel Thurgood Marshall declared last month. It is, he said,

> ". . . defiance of our government; and our government is either strong enough to deal with this defiance, or is weak enough to be unable to survive as a world power."

This defiance "is great and is growing," Don Shoemaker, exec. director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, recently told a national conference of editorial writers. It is most blatantly expressed through the White Citizens Councils, whose 60,000 members in Mississippi — where it was founded last year—have active allies in Alabama, Louisiana and S. Carolina.

MANY TITLES: Shoemaker said a Citizen Council characteristic is that

> ". . . their leadership is often top-drawer [bankers, landowners, governors, mayors, sheriffs, retail merchants, wholesalers, employers] and they repeatedly renounce violence."

There are other titles too, Shoemaker added:

> "In Georgia the States Rights Council has assumed statewide importance. The strongest sector of opposition in Tennessee is centered in the Federation for Constitutional Government. White Americans, Inc., is active in Arkansas. Virginia has its Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. N. Carolina has the Organization of N. Carolina, Inc."

New York **Post** columnist Murray Kempton, touring the South, added The Southern Gentleman, "local [Baton Rouge, La.] poor relation of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi."

The Rev. Joseph Delaine, Negro minister who has been a fugitive from S. Carolina since Oct. 10, when he shot at an auto from which two blasts had been fired at his home, told a New York mass meeting that Southern newspapers, television and radio were being used to recruit a new Ku Klux Klan.

"ONLY BULWARK": The York (Pa.) **Gazette & Daily** (9/3) observed that in Mississippi, heart of racist reaction in the U. S., "the federal courts are the Negroes' only bulwark."

Negroes have found that "bulwark" to be less than adequate. As Mississippi was first to organize against the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow school decision, so has the bloody harvest reaped by this economically, culturally and politically backward plantation-state exceeded that of her neighbors. Those who seek a change suffer for it. For example:

Elders of the Durant, Miss., Presbyterian Church last week demanded dismissal of the Rev. Marsh Calloway because he became "involved in politics" by defending two other white men accused of favoring integration. The two allegedly had permitted inter-racial swimming on their property.

"The voices of moderation [in Mississippi] are few and far between," an AP correspondent wrote. Among the moderates he listed

> ". . . William Faulkner . . . winner of the Nobel prize for literature, and Hodding Carter, Pulitzer prize-winning editor of the Greenville Delta **Democrat-Times** . . . outspoken critic of the Citizens Councils."

THE "TROUBLEMAKERS": The Councils' declared aims are to keep Negroes from voting and to maintain jimcrow schools in defiance of the law. A Negro who wants to vote or to send his child to an unsegregated school is a

(Continued on Page 9)

I Love God, My Flag

and All for that it Stands: One Nation Under God Indivisible, with Liberty and Justice for all those who obey God's Laws and of His Own Chosen White Race, to Rule White America.

I LOVE RULE BY CONSENT OF THE WHITE MAJORITY who is governed by their Ruler in Individual States. I Solemly Pledge to Give My Own Race Preference; never Comfort Our Enemies with Love, Hope, Loans or Charity or Associating with them in any manner except in Search For PEACE. Nor purchase their products of Labors or even their Labors. These Lawless Communist-led Negroes, and Politicians; Regardless of race, so help me God, MUST GO!

Name *Address*

The LIBERTY PRESS Norman Lee Williams Richmond, Va. over

THIS KIND OF CARD IS CIRCULATED IN VIRGINIA

LATIN AMERICA

Behind the military coups in Brazil and Argentina

By Elmer Bendiner

THE COUPS THAT TOPPLED presidents in Argentina and Brazil this month had two things in common: they were military and bloodless. There all similarity ended. The all-important difference lay in the position of the working people. In Argentina they quickly came under the guns of the new regime; in Brazil they stood solidly behind the guns of a victorious general.

In September, when Peron's throne was tottering, the military, Franco-ists, high churchmen—and those Argentines who thought they could do better U.S. business without Peron—were all scrambling to unseat him. Some Argentine liberals thought the important thing was to get rid of Peron; others on the left thought the all-important factor to watch was the trade unionists who, in or out of Peron's camp, hold the key to Argentine stability.

On Sept. 16 Peron fell and crowds joyfully hauled down the statues of Juan and Evita—but they were mostly well-dressed crowds. Liberals toasted the dictator's downfall in champagne, forgetting that at that moment the new regime was firing on Argentine workers in the Avellaneda district of Buenos Aires and in the key industrial city of Rosario.

SHIFTING COMPASS: Maj. Gen. Eduardo Lonardi took the helm and tried responding to wildly conflicting orders from the bridge. The compass seemed to shift from Madrid to Rome to Washington every hour, and Lonardi steered in circles. Genuflecting to Catholicism and anti-Communism Lonardi installed Gen. Leon Bengoa as Army Minister and arch pro-Franco partisans Mario Amedeo as Foreign Minister and Dr. Juan Carlos Goyeneche as press officer. Bowing to anti-Peronism he appointed a mild but consistently anti-Peronist lawyer Dr. Eduardo Busso as Minister of Interior and Justice.

He gathered together a council of state representing all parties but the Peronistas and the Communists. Those two exceptions effectively shut out any trade union representation and left the working people implacably hostile. Without those working people there could be no stability. The new regime quickly broke up. Anti-Peronists forced Lonardi to get rid of Goyeneche. Francoists and Churchmen forced him to whittle down Dr. Busso's influence.

WORKERS ABSTAIN: After two days of rumor and frenzied conferences, the Casa Rosada (government house) announced that the military had accepted Lonardi's resignation. Maj. Gen. Pedro Aramburu, a military man of no previously noted political principle, was named in his place. At his suburban home Lonardi insisted angrily that he was still president. Gendarmes and army troops with fixed bayonets took up their stations around the Casa Rosada. There was no violence, though, because no people were in the streets to cheer or boo. The working people were abstaining.

A few hundred young people, mainly students, beat up some Lonardi supporters and shouted: "Democracy yes, Nazism no," but these too ignored the ominous abstention of Argentina's highly organized and usually vocal trade unionists.

The unionists in the General Confdn.

(Continued on Page 5)

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DON'T BE BACKWARD!

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Ike's opportunity

TOPEKA, KANS.

Now that Ike is convalescing and has time on his hands, why can't he repeal the Smith Act, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and free Morton Sobell from Alcatraz prison, together with sending the FBI to Mississippi to see the murderers of Emmett Till brought to justice? A few strokes of the pen to right these wrongs oughtn't to be so strenuous as to cause Ike to have another heart attack.

Walter F. Saar

Mouthful

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Spectator (Nov. 7), whoever he or she may be, has certainly written a mouthful; and I hope it takes hold. Incidentally, I liked John McManus' review of Herbert Aptheker's book. I was really startled to read the introduction; it was hardly favorable. M. H. Baker

Expose informers

MT. VERNON, N. Y.

In a recent "whodunit,"I came across the following, which I call to your attention:

"An informer can never be trusted as long as he has something to gain by the acceptance of his information. This is a fairly simple principle which a great many people, and nations, choose to forget." —The Evil of the Day, by Thomas Sterling, page 127.

There is a subtle, unclean effluvium radiating from the informer, which automatically outrages every decent instinct of honest men. It is the thing that makes the stool-pigeon a loathsome creature wherever he presents himself.

Might it not be timely to expose, systematically, his vested interest in perpetuating his stock-in-trade, and tne necessity to maintain and expand a reserve from which to supply all demands? Consider the vastly improved condition of the Bentleys, Budenzes, et al.

Name Withheld

Surprise

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The U. S. Supreme Court has lately entered upon an unusual course:

According to its taken oath it is now defending the Constitution and Bill of Rights. R. E. Boe

Win the masses

OAKLAND, CALIF.

I believe that Mary Norris and Tabitha Petran agree, in general, that capitalism cannot solve the contradictions that face present day society. Modern techniques provide over-production (really maldistribution), causing crisis that the owners of industry try to solve at the expense of the workers—by unemployment, wage-cuts, tax-the-poor schemes, and devastating wars. More and more, wars are tried because they provide a market that is big and profitable.

Progressives who want to see social change must win the masses to their position by fighting and leading in the battles the people do understand. This will put them in a position to propose qualitative changes at a time when the masses are in motion, and other factors and conditions make changes realizable.

Let's face the fact that the average American does not know the advantages of socialism. Since social change is a process of development, we can't skip the intermediate stages of building a mass movement through activity on present needs and educating it during the struggles to realization that the only real solution is socialism. We must fight against and try to avoid any unnecessary suffering on the part of the workers. One main way now, is to try to turn the war dollars into the pockets of mass consumers, by making sure the tax cuts are for those who need it to live on, rather than for industry. B. L.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BERKELEY (AP) — Discovery of a remarkable new atomic particle which can annihilate the basic building block of all matter was announced yesterday by Prof. Ernest O. Lawrence, famed nuclear scientist . . . Although the particle is a potent annihilator of matter as we know it, it poses no threat to the material universe, and is not an instrument that could be made into a disintegrator of matter."

—Riverside (Calif.) Daily Press, Oct. 20, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Rachel Fossett, Riverside, Calif. Be sure to include original clipping.

Vital, stimulating

CHICAGO, ILL.

I followed the Petran articles as they were printed in your paper and I have also read many of the letters commenting on them. I have believed that your call for independent political action, Miss Petran's articles and the letters were as vital and stimulating in arousing thought on the part of people connected with the Left in America as anything that has been published in a good many years.

Congratulations on beginning your eighth year. I have read your paper for all seven of your years.

Henry Haase

Question for the Left

DETROIT, MICH.

The Petran economic analysis was stimulating and much needed. The ensuing discussion is most welcome and constructive also.

The most important question the Left must face is what is happening to American economy and why. Then, what should our perspective be? Certainly, some control over economy is possible through social welfare programs, business regulation and especially through government spending; as our huge military budget demonstrates. However, past experience indicates that when the downturn begins, it can't be stopped by anything short of opening a new field of investment and exploitation such as a world war. Since the two world power blocs are apparently deadlocked and war is not on the immediate horizon, it's quite evident that we are headed for a major slowdown in economic function. As this situation grows, a broader and more enthusiastic reception by working people to the progressive socialist approach to unemployment, preserving peace, the farm crisis and combatting the witch-hunt will be developed.

It seems to me independent political activity is the proper course for the progressive socialist movement. The Minnesota proposals made by M. H. Baker are excellent; I indorse them. Especially important is the suggestion that the GUARDIAN readers in each area get together and discuss these matters in the light of local situations.

Dave Pomplin

Any more books?

GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

Thank you so much for publishing my letter appealing for books in the Aug. 1 GUARDIAN.

The results have been far above my expectations. I received dozens of letters from people in the U. S. A., Canada and Alaska—all showing remarkable generosity. And yesterday a huge shipment of books arrived—enough for us to make a start. It was an exciting event opening the parcels and seeing such wonderful books as those of Howard Fast and Basil Davidson and others.

In closing, may we join in the many protests against the deportation of Mr Belfrage. We have been following events both in the GUARDIAN and the London papers.

Janet Jagan
199 Charlotte St.

Better late . . .

YORK, PA.

I'm sorry to be so late in sending the money from our supper and White Elephant sale but one bidder became too enthusiastic and we had to wait till he was able to pay for his purchases.

Virginia Gilmore

•

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The enclosed contribution was raised at a birthday party. We know you'll put it to good use. Keep up the excellent job and keep the paper coming out. We need it in these troubled times. M K.

Drawing by Dyad, London
"Aw nuts to the Archbishop!"

Unlawful and immoral

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Hon. Herbert Brownell Jr.
Dept. of Justice, Wash., D. C.

Dear Sir:

It seems that Robert Thompson, awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, and Saul Wellman, wounded in the Battle of the Bulge, both veterans disabled in the service of our country, are being deprived of veterans' pensions because they have been convicted in Federal courts for their wrong opinions in the eyes of the majority.

May I remind you that it is unlawful and immoral to allow people to become crippled while defending the U. S., and later refuse to abide by laws and agreements that clearly dictate they have a right to pension compensation? This is true even though they may be Communists. Abraham Zitron

Flood control

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Some weeks ago, the GUARDIAN published Elmer Bendiner's article pointing out that New England states have been opposed to flood control even though they have suffered repeatedly from flood damage. Since you did not give any reason for their opposition I wrote to ask whether electric utility companies might be responsible. Since flood control developments often involve possibilities for low-cost hydro-electric power, did New England utility companies kill such projects to avoid competition from public power? (New England has the highest power rates in the country).

According to the enclosed clipping from the Oct. 25 Christian Science Monitor, that is exactly what has happened. For 100 years, New England created great fortunes from shipping and textiles and manufacturing for its leading families. Now all these industries are in decline. Yet, rather than develop river basins to generate the low-cost power that might revive things, New England's "leading" families prefer the scourges of unemployment and of flood. According to the enclosed clipping, Sherman Adams, former governor of New Hampshire and now an advisor to President Eisenhower, has been a key figure in the strangulation of New England for the greater profit of the electric utility empire. Is this one of the benefits of our much-ballyhooed "free enterprise" system?

Lest we think that Republicans are the only villains in the picture, we should remember that Pennsylvania, with a Democratic governor and Democratic control of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, presents a similar situation. Army engineers estimate that the Allegheny-Monongahela valleys are capable of developing more than one million kw. of low cost power (House Document No. 491, 83d Congress, 2d Session: p. xiv.) In a number of cases, existing dams and reservoirs here already incorporate water channels ready for connection to hydro-generators. Yet, as of this date, Pennsylvania's Democratic administration allows this one million kw. potential water power to run wasted to the sea. S. S.

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REPORT TO READERS

A darling dinner

AS IT MUST TO ALL MORTALS, the time may come for us when we will take our birthdays in stride. But right now, in our young estate, we count our anniversaries gladly; love the birthday parties you grownups give for us and cherish the gifts we receive; and hope our behavior may continue to warrant such thoughtfulness and affection.

And precisely because we have this youthful zest for celebrations, we are not above stretching our anniversary time over a considerable period—for as long, in fact, as it takes for all our parties to take place—say, until mid-January, at least. There are plenty of them scheduled, too. If you haven't been bid to one in your part of town, better drop us a line and find out what's cooking.

OUR NEW YORK PARTY was a truly delightful affair at the Hotel New Yorker Nov. 17. As in other years, Dr. Du Bois presided—and we are sure W. E. B.'s pertly pertinent remarks about the economics of truth-telling had a great deal to do with the unusually high-level generosity which prevailed. (Remind us to tell you what he said in detail, when there's more space.)

Reading from your left, the dias was a heart-warming arary of the unbowed: Carl Braden, fighting a sedition conviction in Kentucky for helping a Louisville Negro family purchase a house on the other side of the tracks; Dorothy Parker, whose matchless wit has never failed a good cause; philosopher Barrows Dunham, who has just won a court fight for the right to tell a Congressional committee to mind its business; author Harvey O'Connor and humanist Corliss Lamont, both in the process of winning the same kind of fights; editor Eugene Moy of the China Daily News, facing jail for love of his native land; Elliot Sullivan, a winner of that memorable bout this summer between the New York show folk and the Walter Committee; Choon Cha Kwak, who with her husband, Chungsoon, faces deportation to Syngman Rhee's hands for opposing his treason to Korea.

And (after time for a breath) Mrs. Helen Sobell, leader of the struggle for her husband's freedom and vindication for the Rosenbergs' name; Pablo Garcia, Harvard-trained Puerto Rican patriot and spokesman for his country's Smith Act victims; attorney Blanch Freedman, of counsel in the Belfrage Case and a forefront fighter for the rights of foreign-born; and two valiant friends of the GUARDIAN from Brooklyn, Clifford T. McAvoy and Lionel Stander.

Now let's see—did we skip anybody? Ah, yes; Cedric Belfrage! Hale, hearty and personable (if not in person actually) in a huge color photograph projected above the dais as his voice came in tape-recorded and brimming over with wit and good sense.

Quite an evening, truly, and believe it or not, everybody off for home by eleven!

OUR LOS ANGELES party is Friday, Dec. 2 (note this change in date from Dec. 3)—dinner-dance-show and get-together. The way you get to come is to rake up $15 per each in subscriptions, contributions or what have you. Then call Tiba Willner (WEbster 1-9478), and she'll issue your pass to the third annual rendezvous of the GUARDIAN faithful of L. A. and environs.

There'll be time later to tell you more of New Year's doing in San Francisco and the Bay Area around the GUARDIAN's seventh birthday, but for folks elsewhere, we again want to say what a nice idea we thing this is—a New Year's Party for the GUARDIAN. Good for us, and good for you, too. At least the celebrants breathing down your neck will be your friends. Keep in touch.

—THE GUARDIAN

W. E. B. Du BOIS ON THE "FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION"

The wealth of the West vs. a chance for exploited mankind

Following are excerpts from an address given in Chicago on Oct. 28 by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. It was under the auspices of "The Committee to Further the Goals of Geneva."

THE MAIN REASON for rejoicing at the results of the [Summit] Geneva Conference was not over decisions . . . but the fact that they could be discussed calmly without rancor. While then all the world rejoices at this encouraging fact, I wish to emphasize that this accomplishment and the subjects discussed were not the fundamental matter in dispute.

Even if disarmament is brought about and the atom bomb discarded as a weapon; even if the Soviet Union and the U. S. agree not to defend their respective systems of economy by war, still the fundamental question facing the modern world will not have been argued nor settled but will remain to restore war and tempt nations to resort to nuclear weapons. That fundamental question is as to how far the nations who are at present the most advanced in intelligence, culture and technique can keep their wealth; can maintain their knowledge; can remain healthy and comfortable without using the land and labor of the majority of mankind mainly for the benefit of the European world and not for the benefit of most men who happen to be colored.

EVERY SCHOOLBOY today knows of the scientific overthrow of the theory of externally inferior races, but few intelligent men in the modern world realize that the modern labor movement in the most advanced nations is not only not fighting for the uplift of depressed mankind in backward lands but is often willing to share with capital the results of the exploitation of the mass of colonial labor.

Modern labor in the leading nations is taught not so much to raise the status of labor as such as to escape from the ranks of labor and become exploiters of labor. If the average laborer cannot do this he breaks his back and heart to see that his children need not be laborers. This is not true of all labor but it tends to be true of the most highly skilled and better paid labor and particularly of the increasing mass of white collar workers risen from the ranks of labor who form a class between capital and labor and strive to be allies of capital and not of labor.

We have assumed that the rise of the laboring class in Western Europe and North America from poverty, disease, ignorance and disfranchisement would mean that organized labor automatically and without training would fight for the depressed laboring classes of the world. This has not happened. Trained in the midst of an acquisitive society, labor in each nation has fought for itself. It has even gone farther and fought against its more unfortunate fellow laborers even in its own land.

Here then is the fundamental question of our day: How far is the civilized world ready to share wealth equitably with the world's poor and ignorant and sick, or how far is it determined to build and maintain its culture by standing on the necks of any and all people whom it can force to yield? This is the real problem of peace and war. . . . The fundamental question is how to stop exploitation of labor whenever and wherever it occurs.

Can civilization be maintained if in future the wealth and labor of Asia and Africa is reserved largely for the benefit of Asians and Africans and not distributed mainly as profits and wages among Europeans and Americans? If this is possible will it not inevitably be at the cost of lowering the income of the white world and certainly of decreasing its waste and luxury?

IN THE U. S. not only capital but labor helped the poverty of Negro citizens and East European immigrants; and then helped world imperialism through world war. Today the overwhelming mass of the best paid labor in the U. S. and Britain support the low wage and degradation of colonial labor by taking no action; and the cold war was against socialism of any kind and not simply against the communist way of achieving socialism. At Geneva [in July] we agreed to talk calmly about coexistence between the Soviet Union and the U. S. but we did not approach the question of the right of basing European civilization on the exploitation of colored labor.

The result of this education of labor is that labor is too often willing to furnish the soldiers who fight for imperialism. It results in labor being willing to support any government or elect any officials to office so long as their own wages are high, even if world war results. In the past it has resulted in labor fighting labor in the same nation.

In another area we have assumed that farmers would be eager to join progressive forces and help uplift the Southern serf in the U. S. and the starving farmers in the colonial world. They seldom were to be counted on. For the farmer is either himself an exploited laborer trying to buy land, or he is a capitalist himself exploiting labor and joining willingly other capitalists in exploiting the labor of Asia, Africa, the West Indian and South America—even in the U. S.

IF THE EXPLOITATION of the labor of the colonial and quasi-colonial regions of the world can be stopped; if the toil of Asians and Africans; of West Indians, Central and South Americans can be employed mainly for the benefit of the colonial workers and not mainly for the wealth of European and North American investors, then, shorn of the fight for loot, the world in peace can turn toward the problem of production and distribution of wealth. Then the rivalry between communism and free enterprise will cease to call for war and become a magnificent competition.

But there looms a greater danger. Having lost in part the chance to exploit Asia, the West today is turning to an El Dorado as great as the industrial revolution ever offered. And that is the new Africa of the Twentieth Century. . . . And because of exploitation of black labor on an increased and more profitable scale, all Africa today is aflame.

Our taxes have armed the French Army. Most of it is now fighting natives in North Africa. Britain is fighting in Kenya a barbarous war costing nearly $3,000,000 a day for over a year. She is maneuvering on the edge of war in East and West Africa. South Africa is pushing to race disaster with all her strength. Portugal and Spain are co-conspirators.

This question of stealing from labor nearly all that it adds to wealth is still one of the vastest problems of ethics and economics. Five million Europeans living in Africa, a continent twice the size of the U. S. and backed by the Western world, are trying to use the land and labor of 200,000,000 Africans for the wealth and comfort of white people and not for the needs and wishes of black labor.

In the Rhodesias are 200,000 whites determined to control the land and labor of 7,000,000 Negroes. On the Congo 60,000 whites occupy 300,000 square miles of the richest land on earth so that Belgium and her investing friends may have a clean and beautiful homeland while 12,000,000 Negroes toil for them.

TO REALIZE just what white exploitation of Africa means today let me take one example: In a single year the copper extracted in Northern Rhodesia sold for $30,000,000. Of this sum, $700,000 went to 17,000 black miners paid $42 apiece for the year. Two million of the $30,000,000 went to 1,700 white managers and workers, or $15,000 apiece for the year; and $16,500,000 went in dividends to white persons who owned the stock and for the most part did not lift a finger to mine this copper. It represented from 40 to 125% on legal investment, not to mention watered stock.

We have in the U. S. today a distinguished general who is head of a national "Crusade for Freedom." He is also a member of the board of directors of a lead and zinc mine in Morocco which made a net profit of $9,000,000 in one year by paying its miners 15 cents an hour for wages.

Between 1900 and 1950, American investment in So. Africa increased from $500,000,000 to $1,500,000,000. Our government loaned South Africa $100,000,000 and all of our great, including the Morgan and Rockefeller interests, Ford and General Motors, General Electric, Firestone and Goodyear, invested there in industry, which pays black labor 45 cents a day. Consequently the president of the General Steelcasting Corp. said in 1950: "The South Africans are a great people" and the country is "going ahead with great speed."

The U. S. Consul-General in South Africa added that South Africa

> ". . . has a greater future than almost any young country in the world. It is definitely going places. Capital investments and loans are not made by mere philanthropists but by astute and far-seeing American financiers and business executives."

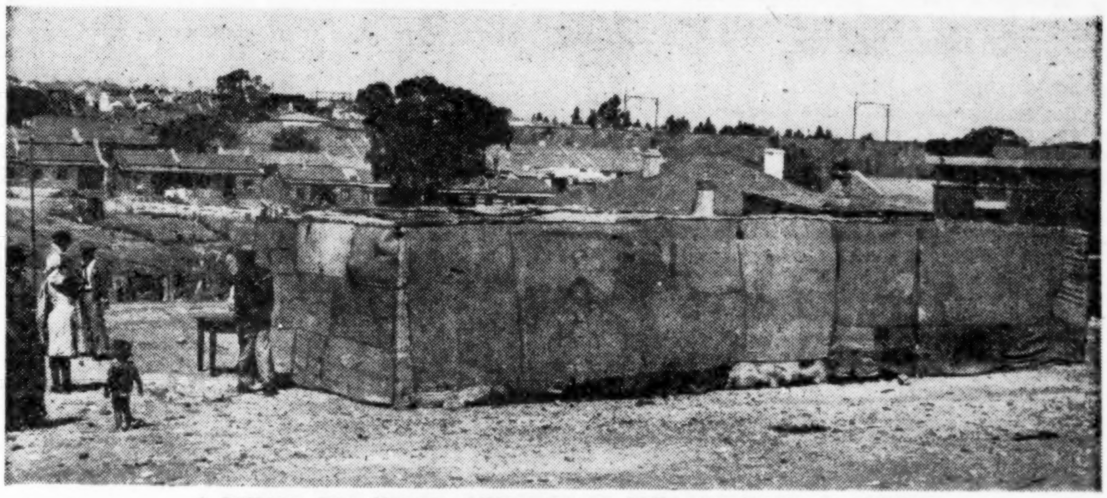
Why? The African continent today furnishes 98% of the diamonds of the world, 80% of the cobalt, 75% of the sisal hemp, 70% of the palm oil, 70% of the cocoa and chocolate, 60% of the gold, 35% of the phosphates, 30% of the chrome and manganese, 20% of the copper and 15% of the coffee —and the development of the continent has scarcely begun. This is the temptation to exploitation which thrills the capitalist world today; and in opposition to this, Africa is on fire from Tunis to Capetown.

The Union of South Africa is trying to make 10,000,000 colored people the economic slaves of 2,500,000 whites, without votes, with a minimum of education and with proportionally more people in jail than in any other nation on earth.

NOT COMMUNISM, then, but exploitation is the central world problem today. Poverty, ignorance and disease are not excuses for communism: They are the ills which communism seeks to cure. If communism can cure human degradation in Asia and Africa, it will spread over the world and nothing can or should stop it. If capitalism cannot or will not stop exploitation then private capitalism is doomed.

The people of the world who want free enterprise and private initiative must face this problem. The degradation of most of the people of the world today is the foundation of a great part of the wealth and luxury of the U. S., Britain and France. It helps the high rate of income and wages paid white workers. The question is whether or not it is possible to raise the standard of living among mankind without lowering present standards in the white world. If this is not possible, then the white world must fight to keep the colored world down. This will be a long, hard, perhaps fatal battle for both.

Even if in the long run the poverty, ignorance, and disease of the majority of men can be remedied and the standard of living in London, Paris and New York be kept, still it is bound to be true that today this is impossible. The wealth, waste and luxury of the U. S., Britain and France must be sternly held in check if the rest of mankind is to have a chance at decency in our time. There is no use blinking and denying this fact. The alternative is war and barbarism, no matter what the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four discuss.



A SCHOOL FOR NEGRO CHILDREN IN JOHANNESBURG, S. AFRICA
It was made by the parents themselves out of sacking

Justus in Minneapolis Star
END OF THE TRAIL

CEDRIC BELFRAGE VISITS PARLIAMENT

Capital punishment and the Rosenberg Case

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

FOR SYDNEY SILVERMAN, an indomitable man with white hair and a conscience which has disturbed honorable members of the House of Commons for a quarter of a century, Nov. 15 was a big day. After the wigged and gowned Speaker had passed in stately procession to his seat, preceded by a major-domo type and the object known as the Mace and followed by a train-bearer, the Almighty was invited to bless the proceedings.

Then there was the usual Question Time covering such matters as the trees in royal parks, the appropriate spot for a statue of suffragette Mrs. Pankhurst, the number of British soldiers occupying graves in Kenya, and the relations between Church and State. And then the man with the

SYDNEY SILVERMAN
They listened and applauded

conscience had ten minutes to lay his burden on the conscience of the House—and even the ranks of Tory could scarce forebear to cheer as he placed his Death Penalty Abolition Bill on the clerk's desk.

WHO THE MAN IS: The honorable members cheered—or remained silent if they did not—because they knew that the British people's humanitarian feelings are deeply and broadly stirred just now about capital punishment; and also because many who abhor Silverman's left-Labour politics respect him for the long, courageous battle he has waged on it. Yet it was an eye-opening scene for one fresh from America, thinking of Silverman not as the skilled lawyer-parliamentarian representing the working-class constituency of Nelson and Colne, but as the MP who when others were silent agreed to speak in defense of the Rosenbergs in America and was denied a visa by the State Dept.

Here he was, standing before the Mother of Parliaments on the issue to which no newspaper just now dares deny front-page space, as spokesman for 12 MP's sponsoring the bill including two Tories, two Liberals, and former Labour Home Secy. Chuter Ede. One of the Tories, who later dashed out from a Northern Ireland MP's committee meeting for a two-minute hello with me in the lobby, was Belfast's H. Montgomery Hyde. He was the man who last summer asked in the House what Her Majesty intended to do about my imprisonment in New York.

JUDGES AND BISHOPS: All who were present in the packed House felt that a strange angel known as Mercy hovered over this place, where so many blood-spotted decisions are made on the destinies of millions around the world. The angel had hovered there before: investigating commissions had been appointed and first readings of bills to suspend capital punishment had been passed; but always some "dark, secret, noisome influence in the Home Office," as Silverman told the House, had prevented anything from being done. (To me afterwards, over a cup of tea, he named as chief foes of all penal reform for 150 years "the judges and the bishops—everything has been passed in the teeth of their opposition.")

Will something be done this time? That the gentlemen sprawling on the front government benches don't want to stop legal killing, and will use every device to retain it, is very clear—for they have rejected even the reforms in the capital punishment law which a commission recommended two years ago. That they are seriously worried about the force of public opinion was even clearer from their failure to put up anyone to pooh-pooh Silverman's plea, as they were entitled and expected to do.

They will rely on stalling to do the job, but Silverman will be worrying at them like a terrier with a rat as long as his passport to Westminster remains valid.

AMAZING SUCCESS: Meanwhile the snowballing demand for abolition is one of those phenomena which, from time to time on some unexpected front, provide a key to the often baffling operation of British public opinion. The impression is that the British people, thwarted on many more pressing issues such as German rearmament, are wrapping up all their spirit of protest in this one which they have faith that they can win.

Everyone has been amazed by the success of the Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment which, launched by publisher Victor Gollancz three months ago, has already received over 10,000 inquiries from sympathizers. Its first call, this month, drew an audience of 7,000 and a collection of $3,000 at a meeting in Westminster's Central Hall and an overflow at Church House. The country is being flooded with Gollancz's pamphlet **The Heart of the Matter**, pointing out that "you cannot preserve civilization by an act that esssentially negates it," and with Campaign leaflets outlining the history of capital punishment and listing 15 countries in "Western" Europe and Asia which have abolished it. (Even West Germany did away with it six years ago; in Holland there has been no execution for 95 years.)

SOBELL RALLY: A few hours after Silverman presented his bill, over 200 Londoners gathered in a small Bloomsbury hall—a good audience, as I estimate the difficulties involved, and representing many progressives and trade union organizations. Their purpose: to honor the memory of our era's most famous victims of legal murder—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—by launching a drive to free Morton Sobell.

To your editor-in-exile it was a moving occasion, to be speaking for the first time before a group of those diehards for justice who fought for the Rosenbergs in far-off countries. The Sobell campaign got off the ground with a fat collection including $50 for six copies of John Wexley's book on the Rosenberg case, and a panel of leading British progressives outlined aspects of the Sobell case. Queen's Counsel D. N. Pritt, who got out of a sickbed to come, wittily and witheringly described details of the legal frame-up. Prof. J. D. Bernal tied up the recent world conference of atomic scientists in Geneva with the Rosenberg-Sobell case to show how it had been exposed as a hoax from the scientific viewpoint.

JUST A LITTLE MORE: Monica Whately, Catholic journalist and lecturer, drew the inevitable gasps of incredulity in telling of the continuing witch-hunt as she saw it on a recent visit to the U.S. Chairman Stanley Evans, vicar of Dalston, hammered away on the point that the campaign for the Rosenbergs had almost won out—"just a little more would have done it." Chiding progressives here and elsewhere for not getting steam up for Sobell sooner, he said that if they had, Washington might have been compelled to review the case right after the Geneva conference.

In the context of Silverman's renewed crusade to abolish capital punishment here, the meeting re-evoked even more than it would otherwise have done the extraordinary emotion that people felt about the whole Rosenberg-Sobell horror. The standing endorsement of a cable to Eisenhower, asking Sobell's immediate removal from Alcatraz and a new trial, indicated that something the U. S. Embassy will be hearing about for a long time has been started.

For a young American 6,000 miles away in a prison cell, and for his wife and children, it may be Nov. 15 was a big day too.

LIFE IN BROWNELL'S AMERICA

Scales loses appeal in Smith Act case; Connecticut, Ohio 'conspiracy' trials on

JUNIUS I. SCALES, 35-year-old Communist leader sentenced last April under the "membership" clause of the Smith Act to six years in prison, was last week denied a rehearing by a Circuit Court of Appeals after its decision upholding his conviction. Scales, grand nephew of a N. Carolina governor and formerly a student at the University of N. Carolina, is the second Communist to be convicted under the untested "membership" clause.

Claude Lightfoot, Communist Party Illinois chairman, and first to be convicted for membership, was sentenced last January to five years. The Baltimore **Afro-American** (2/26) asked editorially why, "considering the small number of colored Communists in this country," the first such arrest was a "colored Red." His appeal is before the U. S. Court of Appeals, Chicago. A third victim of the clause, Mrs. Martha Stone Asher of Patterson, N. J., was indicted with six Connecticut Communists charged with "conspiracy to advocate" force and violence. She is now on trial in New Haven. Government witnesses so far have been secret FBI agents and turncoat party members.

THE ORIGINAL 11: Dr. Albert Blumberg was indicted for "membership" in Philadelphia more than a year ago and is scheduled to stand trial in January. Eleven other Communists awaiting trial under the membership section but for which no date has been set are: Benjamin J. Davis, Eugene Dennis, William Z. Foster, John Gates, Gilbert Green, Gus Hall, Jack Stachel. Robert Thompson and Henry Winston became fugitives renewing the 1949 Foley Square trial. Hall and Thompson were caught and are now serving "contempt" sentences. Foster's case was severed, owing to a heart condition. Weiss was arrested in New York Sept. 19 on a sealed indictment returned May 14, 1954, and held for transfer to Chicago.

The trial of 11 Ohio Smith Act defendants began in Cleveland Nov. 4. Defense counsel, former Asst. Dist Atty. Martin R. McCormack, attacked the government's case as founded on "testimony from paid informers." The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati on Nov. 18 affirmed the sentences of six persons found guilty by a Michigan district court Feb. 19, 1954, for "conspiracy" to overthrow.

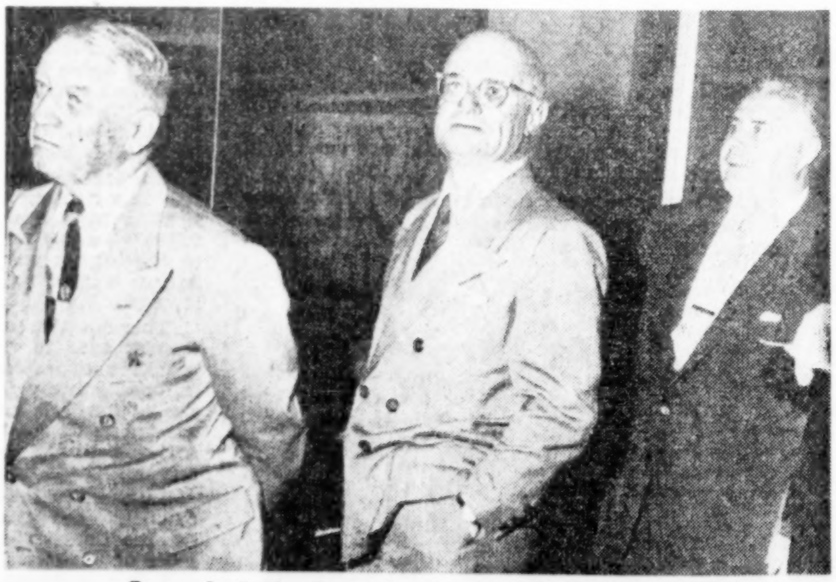
THE SCORE: There have been 131 "conspiracy" indictments, including 11 in Puerto Rico. Eighty six have been convicted for a total of 359 years, four months. Three have been acquitted and five severed. Two defendants died; 15 are now in prison; 12 have been released. The so-called harboring case, against those who allegedly sheltered political fugitives, is pending in the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals.

John Noto, of Buffalo, arrested Aug. 31 on a secret indictment charging "membership," returned in November, 1954, is in jail. Bail is set at $30,000 cash or $60,000 property.

Debs memorial meeting

A MEETING marking the centennial of the birth of Eugene Victor Debs (Nov. 5, 1855), will be held in New York Monday, Nov. 28, at 8 p.m., at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St.

Featured speaker will be Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted scholar and historian. James Aronson, executive editor of the GUARDIAN, will be chairman. Other speakers will be Clifford T. McAvoy, ALP candidate for Mayor in 1953; Leo Huberman, co-editor, **Monthly Review**; Bert Cochran, editor, **American Socialist**; I. F. Stone, editor, **I. F. Stone's Weekly**.



See what the boys in the back room'll have

Last week in Chicago Adlai Stevenson announced that he's a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President—and no one fainted. He held a press conference and made a speech in which he took both sides of most questions in language which could be interpreted to suit everyone. In the wings at the press conference was an old pal of Adlai's, none other than the ineffable Jacob M. (Jake) Arvey (shown above, center) watching to see that his stage management went according to plan. Jake, in case you've forgotten, is Democratic National Committeeman from Illinois, a long way of saying Boss.

THE LAW

McCarran Act challenged before Supreme Court

THE SUPREME COURT last week was pondering in effect, whether the frenzy of 1950 would still prevail as law in 1955. Under review was the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act, passed in September, 1950, over a Presidential veto, and the question of whether a person can be twice convicted and twice punished on one charged offense.

On two successive days the court heard oral argument in the case of the Communist Party against the Subversive Activities Control Board and in the case of Steve Nelson, whose conviction under a Pennsylvania Sedition Law was thrown out by the State Supreme Court on the ground that the state law was superseded by the Smith Act.

THE CHARGES: The constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act—the McCarran Act—was challenged on 13 major points by attorneys John J. Abt and Joseph Forer. Under the law, the CP was charged on Nov. 22, 1950, with being a "communist-action" organization under foreign domination with the purpose of overthrowing the U. S. government. Hearings before the SACB dragged on for two years, from April 23, 1951, to April 20, 1953, when the party was ordered to register with the Attorney General, disclose its membership and finances, and submit to other governmental controls.

A federal court of appeals upheld the law and the registration order on Dec. 23, 1954. It was not until Oct. 20 this year that the Justice Dept. filed a 307-page brief urging that the law be upheld; defense attorneys filed an answering brief on Nov. 14, presented their oral argument on Nov. 17.

LOST FAITH? They contended that the issue is not communism, but the very survival of the U. S. Constitution itself. Outlawry of the CP under the law, they said, "would itself serve notice to the world that America has lost faith in the democratic process."

The U. S. Solicitor-General held that the law does not abridge constitutional rights but is merely a "disclosure" law. But the defense described this as meaning that members of the proscribed organization "may be conclusively presumed to be criminals and deprived, without hearings for the individual or other ado, of any privileges Congress wishes to withhold. This is simply the McCarthy theory that the Constitution does not apply to Communists and people he calls Communists."

They attacked the "built-in" verdict of the law by pointing out that the Communist Party alone was described as a "communist-action" organization.

Somdal in Sacramento Bee

If the SACB had ruled in favor of the CP, it would have automatically invalidated the law and put itself out of business (and its members out of jobs).

THE PENALTIES: Abt called the law "an attempt without precedence in this country to coerce conformity on an organization devoted to wholly peaceful purposes" and said that the CP was confronted with a choice between "suicide by registering, and government execution."

The defense also attacked the "astronomical penalties": failure to register is punishable by five years in prison and a $10,000 fine, and each day of failure constitutes a separate punishable offense. In four or five days a balky person could rack up the equivalent of a life sentence.

The American Civil Liberties Union, the Natl. Lawyers Guild and a group of 360 prominent Americans filed friend-of-the-court briefs attacking the law; the American Bar Assn. filed one supporting it. A decision in the case was not expected for some time.

NELSON'S STORY: The Steve Nelson case dates back to Aug. 31, 1950, when at midnight he and two others were arrested in Pittsburgh and charged with violation of the state sedition law enacted in 1919. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison and fined $10,000 after a farcical trial. Later he was tried and convicted under the Smith Act and sentenced to another five years.

On appeal, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled 4 to 1 that the state law was invalidated by passage of the Smith Act in 1940. The state appealed the case to the Supreme Court and was joined by 27 other states with similar laws.

The case was argued in Washington by Herbert S. Thatcher, prominent labor lawyer, and Victor Rabinowitz. They contended that "to permit both state and federal laws to stand would inflict double punishment for the commission of a single offense."

RUNNING WITH BLOOD: Upholders of the state laws got a little gory; Harry F. Stambaugh, representing Pennsylvania, argued that his state couldn't wait until "blood is running in the streets and munitions plants are in ruins" before subversives are prosecuted. The attorney general of New Hampshire, who spoke for all the other 27 states, contended that it would be silly if state authorities knew that communists were meeting to hatch subversive schemes and "all they could do about it would be to run to the FBI."

Defense attorney Thatcher countered that "it would be unrealistic to imagine a world conspiracy against Pennsylvania."

But back in 1950, during the fury of the hot little war in Korea, heads of some states could imagine anything.

Brazil & Argentina

(Continued from Page 1)

of Labor had not yet found themselves in the aftermath of Peron's flight. The Peronista machine was breaking up, but some of the pie-cards were trying to hang on. The Lonardi government had tried to install its own men in positions of authority but the rank-and-file wanted more than simple anti-Peronism. The new regime was silent on porkchops and eloquent in its insistence that labor's political prestige and power had to go.

1,000 UNIONISTS JAILED: On the day after Gen. Aramburu took power the CGT scheduled a general strike to protest raids and destruction of union headquarters. Aramburu quickly mobilized the armed forces to smash the trade union movement. In this he differed from the Lonardi government, which had tried to seduce it.

At least 1,000 union leaders were jailed. Marines seized union headquarters and a Navy captain was named as "interventor" to control labor. The two newspapers controlled by the labor movement were taken over. Tanks and armored cars sped to key factories. Troops manned streetcars and trains. Aramburu enunciated the new doctrine that strikes were illegal unless all other methods of reaching a settlement had failed and the government would decide when a union had the right to strike.

Despite the jailings, seizures, and the confusion by labor leaders themselves who seemed to be pleading for a deal, the nation's basic meat packing industries were shut down completely. The strike was also 100% effective in soap factories, 95% in rubber, 90% in oil and breweries, 80% in textile, 75% in metal and 70% in chemical works. In smaller industries and public works the percentage ranged from 10-30% effectiveness.

SAGGING ECONOMY: On Nov. 17 CGT leaders called off the strike, asked the government to free those jailed and rehire all strikers. The government promised only to consider the requests and boasted of victory. Facing fierce political sniping and perhaps a new putsch from the ousted Lonardi faction, and continued bitter hostility from Argentine workers, Aramburu could scarcely afford more such victories.

Labor's hostility was based not only on its ouster from even the pretense of political power, but on mounting economic privations. Peronist inflation was compounded under the Lonardi regime when the peso was devalued (from 14 to 18 to the dollar). Imported items such as oil and steel skyrocketed by 260%. The effects on Argentina's building would be quickly felt. On the highways motorists were already paying three times the price for gasoline.

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR: Aramburu looked overseas for strength. He told Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee, touring with a delegation from International House in New Orleans:

"We are interested in future American investments. This government and any subsequent government will respect and safeguard American investments. The investment of foreign capital in our country is guaranteed by our pure democracy."

Brazil

The Brazilian coup proceeded serenely by comparison; it had a broader base than a palace guard. At 8 p.m. on Nov. 11 Acting President Carlos Luz (who had come to office as the result of President Joao Cafe's heart attack) made a ruling that precipitated his downfall. He refused to fire a Colonel of the Superior War College who had publicly called for a military coup to forestall the inauguration on Jan. 31 of Juscelino Kubitschek and Joao (Jango) Goulart as president and vice president. They had been elected on Oct. 3 with left and labor support amid rumblings from the right that they would never take office.

BACKING OF THE PEOPLE: Gen. Henrique Teixera Lott, then War Minister, resigned. At 2 a.m. the next morning the general returned to the War Ministry. His troops surrounded the Presidential Palace, Air Ministry, airport and police headquarters. By 4 a.m. ex-President Luz was on board the cruiser Tamandare in Rio's harbor. Warning shots across the cruiser's bow constituted the only gunfire in the coup.

Congress quickly declared Luz "unable to serve" and named Speaker of the Senate Nereu Ramos to the acting presidency. The Air Force mined highways and dug trenches; the Navy thundered defiance but it was short-lived. In less than 24 hours the Army, with the solid backing of the people, made a putsch seem useless. The leading agitator for a military junta, Deputy Carlos Lacerda, editor of **Tribuna da Imprensa**, went into hiding. The Labor Party hailed the "preventive coup." Communist Party leader Luis Carlos Prestes, theoretically underground, issued a manifesto, published on page one of Rio's **Imprensa Popular**, in which he supported the General's action "in defense of the Constitution, for democratic liberties and for the assumption of office by those elected Oct. 3."

DEMOCRATIC ARMY: Behind the spiking of the plot in Brazil was a working class movement in no mood to surrender its electoral victory and an army with the most democratic tradition in the Western Hemisphere. Brazil's poor have long regarded the Army as the only path to an education. It has intervened in the past generally on the side of popular movements. Always a political force, its officers' clubs and periodicals have called for Brazil's independence. Though recently purged of many progressives among the brass, its colonels and generals frequently head movements for peace and preservation of the country's economy from foreign exploitation.

The manpower for a putsch could come mainly from the Air Force and the Navy, traditionally aristocratic and reactionary. These were decisively defeated. Brazil now faces a danger which in the past has frustrated its best hopes: the corruption of politicians elected on a progressive platform. The Vargas machine has a legacy of such corruption. That danger may be a sterner test for Brazilian vigilance than any admirals' coup.

GEN. PEDRO ARAMBURU
How long will he be in?

The Geneva Conference

An analysis by Tabitha Petran of the Foreign Ministers conference which ended last week in Geneva will appear in next week's issue of the GUARDIAN.

Polish pianist in U. S. debut

POLAND's best known pianist, Halina Czerny-Stefanska, will make her debut Saturday, Dec. 3, at 8:30 p.m., at Town Hall in New York with the 60 members of the Symphony of the Air, Izler Solomon conducting.

Noted particularly for her interpretations of Chopin's works, Mme. Stefanska is one of the few artists from her country to appear in the U. S. in recent years. She will also be heard in recitals in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago.

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13.	Gilels	Liszt Piano Concerto No. 1 (also: Saint-Saens Concerto No. 2).
14	Gilels	Prokofieff Sonata No. 2, Glazounov Sonata No. 2 and Tchaikovsky 3 Pieces, Op. 19.

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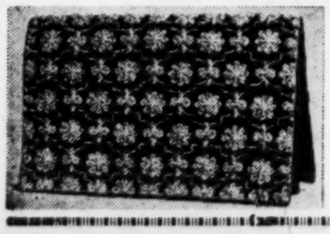

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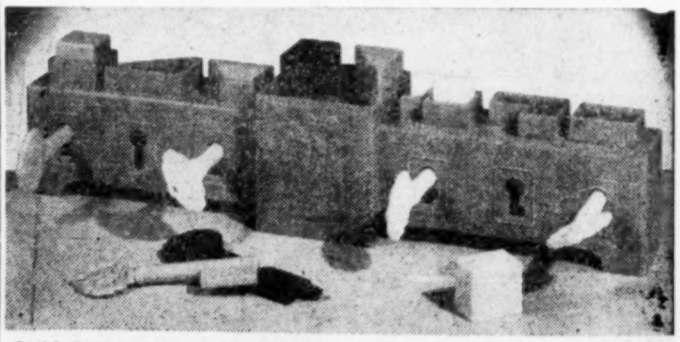

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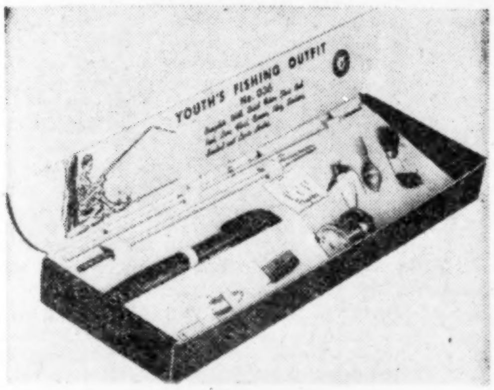

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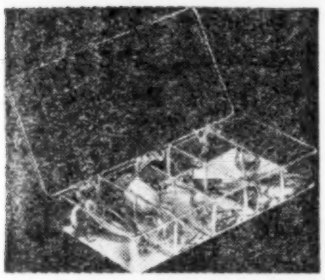

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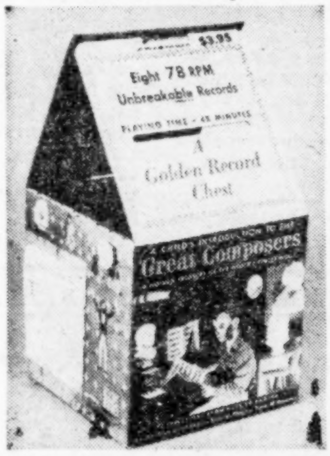

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THEOLOGICAL TESTS FOR TEACHERS?

Religion in the schools; crisis is near

LAST FEBRUARY an eighth-grade student at Pipkin Junior High School, Springfield, Mo., asked his teacher Leslie Hill whether he believed in God. Hill said, "Frankly, I don't" and suggested that if any students wanted to discuss the matter further he'd see them after school. Schools Supt. Willard J. Graff promptly fired Hill, declaring:

"There isn't any place for atheists or agnostics in the public school system."

Last week the N.Y. City Board of Education was considering an even more sweeping declaration that would in effect set up religious tests for teachers and teaching methods. The Board of Superintendents last June unanimously adopted a "guiding statement" entitled "Moral and Spiritual Values and the Schools." It was quietly referred to the Board's Instructional Affairs Committee but news of its contents leaked out and drew explosive protests from many groups.

PROVIDENCE'S PART: The statement declares the U.S. to be a "religious nation" and sets up religious standards for teachers:

"It is an incontrovertible fact that as a rule the American teacher is religious in character, in action and in belief. He belongs to a church or synagogue. . . ."

The "part Providence plays" is to be stressed, says the statement, in all parts of the curriculum and children are to be encouraged to "discover and develop their own relationship to God. . . ." Rules for teaching science are laid down this way:

"Scientists and mathematicians conceive of the universe as a logical, orderly, predictable place. Their consideration of the vastness and the splendor of the heavens, the marvels of the human body and mind, the beauty of nature, the mystery of photosynthesis, the mathematical structure of the universe or the notion of infinity cannot do other than lead to humbleness before God's handiwork. One can only say, 'When I consider the Heavens, the work of Thy Hands.'"

UNCONSTITUTIONAL: Children are to be taught that "in many areas scientific experimentation is impossible and the applications of the methods and procedures of science have definite limitations." In manual training,

". . . the materials used invariably give rise to speculation about the planning and the orderliness of the natural world and the marvelous working of a Supreme Power."

Though such an orientation would clearly violate the rights of atheists or agnostics who are obliged to support the schools with their taxes and send

their children there, the first protests came from groups with religious affiliations. The American Jewish Congress said the statement is

". . . an unconstitutional and illegal violation of the principle of separation of church and state and threatens the integrity and non-sectarianism of the public school system."

It warned that the statement "makes the public teacher a full time religious missionary" and may lead to the requirement that teachers subscribe to some religious faith. It pointed out that this would violate the New York law against discrimination, the Civil Service law and the "American tradition against religious tests for public office." The Congress feared that many teachers, urged to give their instruction a religious cast would inevitably preach their own religion.

MANY PROTESTS: Rabbi Morris N. Kertzner of the American Jewish Congress said:

"The report is so sectarian that if it ever goes through we will not have the public school system we are accustomed to have."

Protestants and Other Americans United, other Protestant groups and the United Parent Assn. protested and filed notice they would be on hand when the Board holds public hearings on the statement later this fall.

The New York situation is a new climax in a long fight. Thomas Jefferson once pointed proudly to the nation's "wall of separation between church and state." Up to 1913 the wall stood firm. In that year a school superintendent in Gary, Ind., ordered children dismissed an hour earlier one day a week for religious instruction. For years the Gary precedent meant little more than a tiny hole in the dike.

When the Gary plan was attempted in New York and elsewhere public hearings broke into riots. In the twenties the post-war religious revival and boom times gave church groups enough strength to push harder and the wall crumbled in many places.

COURT DECISION: In the religious and financial boom after World War II many states passed released-time bills. For a while the Supreme Court held fast. In ruling against an Illinois released-time law in 1947 the Court said:

"Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."

Catholic Bishop Says Secularism Causing Nation's Farm Problems

Asserts 'Virus' Destroys Family And Its Religion

By E. W. KIECKHEFER
Courier-Journal Farm Editor

Lexington, Ky., Oct. 24.—The

crop lands under an agreement that they be kept out of crop production.

The Rev. Edward W. O'Rourke, Champaign, Ill., asked who would be hurt most if the Government cut corn production 10 per cent on farms by this method. He [illegible] he thought it would

Louisville Courier-Journal, Oct. 25, 1955

In 1952 New York offered a released-time scheme which differed from the Illinois one only in that religious instruction would be outside the public schools though on school time. The Court found that formula acceptable but Justices Black, Jackson and Frankfurter vigorously dissented, charging that to release some from school for religious instruction was to apply pressure on all children and penalize those not released by depriving them of any significant teaching for that hour. Jackson said:

"The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion—except for the sect that can win political power."

THE SCHOOL BUS: In 46 states public schools now co-operate with church groups by sending them children during the school day. The issue of state subsidies for buses to transport children to private parochial schools is being fought all over the country. In 1953 the N.Y. City Board of Education tried to institute "non-sectarian" daily prayers into the schools, but when it was fought, compromised by ordering as "a truly effective devotional exercise" the singing of the long-forgotten stanza four of "America," addressed to God. The traditional oath of allegiance to the flag has been amended to add the words "under God" when referring to the nation.

The Catholic Church, though insistent that Catholic children belong in parochial schools, has campaigned against "Godlessness" in the public schools and in parents' groups. At the annual "Red Mass" sponsored by the N.Y. Guild of Catholic lawyers and attended by Mayor Wagner, the Very Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, president of Fordham Univ., said:

"I think the clear and present danger is from the left. It is more subtly pernicious even than the Communist conspiracy. It is that frightened and frantic pursuit of freedom at all costs—today's obsessive liberalism."

CALIFORNIA ALERT: Liberalism won a victory last summer in California when state Atty. Gen. Edmund G. Brown ruled that Gideon Bibles could not be distributed in the public schools, that the Bible could only be used "for reference, literary, historical or other non-religious purposes" and that prayers had no place in the curriculum.

The Gideons International has attempted to distribute Bibles through schools in many states, and in 1953 had been prevented by a N.J. Supreme Court opinion reversing an earlier go-ahead in the lower courts.

The California ruling came in response to questions by the State Board of Education in view of bills now pending in the Legislature to install religious programs in the schools. In ruling against prayers, Brown said:

"It is true that the majority of our people are Christians or Jews, so that simple prayers to a Supreme Being would not be incompatible with the views of most students in the public schools. Nevertheless, even atheists and agnostics are protected in their beliefs by the Constitution. . . . For atheist or agnostic children, daily prayers would be a constant reminder of the conflict between home and school, and might well be a disruptive element which would weaken the moral influence of parent and teacher alike."

URSULA WASSERMANN REPLIES TO LETTERS

Israel, the Arab states—and peace in the Middle East

IN the Oct. 31 issue of the GUARDIAN, several readers have taken issue with two of my recent articles on Israel and the Middle East. Will you allow me to answer a few points?

Ethel Cohen writes that "Israel has established friendly relations with Burma and India." It is quite correct to say that Israel's relations with Burma are friendly, and U Nu's state visit here this year constituted the brightest spot in the field of Israel foreign relations in 1955. As for India, Israel has no diplomatic mission in India—nor India one here. Nor does Israel have diplomatic relations with China, although an official mission visited China this year.

In other words, there is no direct contact between Israel and the two largest Asian powers. In my view—and this is a view shared by many responsible people here—one avenue that holds out much hope for peace, and one that has never been tried, would be an appeal to Prime Minister Nehru to act as mediator in the troubled Middle East.

TIES TO THE WEST: Ethel Cohen further states that "even if Israel were not identified with the U.S. the Arab feudal leaders would have maintained the same hostility. . . ." I entirely agree, as far as the Arab **feudal leaders** are concerned, but as I pointed out in my articles, identification with the West has also caused the hostility of all the progressive elements in the various Arab countries. And they are not to be sneezed at!

Carl Minkus objects to "a military dictatorship receiving heavy arms." In this he is not alone. As I pointed out in my second article, it is most regrettable that the Eastern countries' first appearance on the Middle Eastern stage should have had to come in the form of an arms deal; but is it not also understandable that the Soviet Union and the E. European democracies should take steps to try to break through a **cordon sanitaire** which, with the establishment of the Turkish-Pakistani-Iraqi pact threatened to strangle them?

NOT ONLY CZECH: That the Israel-Arab conflict will not be solved on the basis of an arms race is only too clear, and the lives which are lost daily are mourned deeply. I for one would not ship arms to any country in the entire Middle East; but until and unless there is agreement at the "summit," arms shipments will continue. Only today, the radio announced that Italy agreed to deliver 30 heavy bombers to Egypt. Since Italy does not produce heavy bombers, it is surely anyone's guess as to their origin. During the Nitzana fighting recently, the booty taken by the Israeli forces, according to the military correspondent of the Jerusalem **Post** of Nov. 4 (unofficial voice of the Israel Foreign Office)

". . . included 20 vehicles, mostly of American make, two American bren-gun carriers, four 120-mm. mortars, a large number of 81-mm. and 60-mm. mortars, two six-pound British guns, two Hispano-Suiza Swedish-made anti-aircraft guns, 25 Karl Gustav sub-machine guns, a few American bazookas and a large quantity of ammunition."

THE CAUSE OF PEACE: At the same time, the British have announced that they are stepping up their arms shipments to Iraq—which is now so swamped with arms that it has offered Egypt "4,000 tons of armaments"—and that in case of war in the Middle East their alliance with Jordan will take effect. The Jerusalem **Post** has for days written on the "Munich" which is being prepared by London. Is it then really only the Czechs who are guilty of heightening tension in the Middle East?

Mary Engelberg, I believe, is quite right in suggesting that "we should ask ourselves what all this is doing to the cause of world peace." I myself posed that question in the conclusion to my second article when I suggested that "co-existence, here as elsewhere, can be established only through East-West co-operation."

EDEN SAYS NO: George Lichtheim, the Jerusalem **Post's** London correspondent, wrote that Molotov's offer early in October to enter into a Four-Power Agreement on the Middle East was well received by Mr. McMillan but rejected by Eden, under pressure of pro-Arab circles in Whitehall. At the same time, diplomatic quarters here and abroad agree that the State Dept. rejected any top-level agreement at this time, as they wished to have six months at their disposal to "woo Egypt away from the East and bring her back to the fold."

I fully appreciate the anxiety felt by readers of the GUARDIAN in New York. They will believe me when I tell them that many of us here have been anxious and apprehensive as well, because wherever you happen to be in Israel you are always quite close to trouble—if there is trouble. And there are few of us here who do not have friends in the armed forces and in the border settlements. But apprehension and panic are two different things, and anxiety must not blind us to facts which alone will afford a clear analysis.

—Ursula Wassermann

THE DEFENSE IS ON

Washington Pension Union pins the lie on 2 witnesses; Cain worries Brownell

THE WASHINGTON Pension Union opened its defense in a Subversive Activities Control Board hearing in Seattle by promptly tagging two key government witnesses as liars. The organization is charged by Atty. Gen. Brownell with being "Communist-dominated."

Top government witness had been Mrs. Barbara Hartle, one-time Communist Party leader who turned informer after she was convicted on a Smith Act charge. On the witness stand in the SACB hearing she had testified that she attended a Pension Union convention in 1953. Defense attorney Jay Sykes presented proof that she had been in jail at the time of the convention and was either "intentionally perjuring" herself or was mistaken when she gave the testimony. Government attorney Posey T. Kime offered to stipulate that she had been in jail at the time she said she was at the convention, but the point wasn't immediately settled.

SOMEBODY'S LYING: Sykes also challenged Mrs. Hartle on testimony in which she named Seattle attorney John Caughlan and union leader Karly Larsen. He pointed out that Caughlan had been acquitted in 1948 of perjury charges arising from a charge that he was a Communist, and that Larsen had been acquitted in the Seattle Smith Act trial. He said:

"In both these cases Mrs. Hartle's testimony has been found incorrect."

H. C. Armstrong, one-time Pension Union leader, was tagged as liar No. 2. On the witness stand he swore he was a member of the Communist Party in the late Thirties; Sykes offered a copy of a 1938 complaint by Armstrong in which he swore he was not a Communist (Armstrong had successfully sued the Seattle **Star** for libel for calling him one in that year.)

CAIN AND BABEL: As the defense proceeded with its case, the hearings took a curious twist; Harry P. Cain, one-time Senator from Washington who is presiding as a one-man panel, seemed to be incurring the disfavor of the witch-hunting brass in Washington. As a Senator, Cain was a vocal adherent of the ultra-reactionary wing of the Republican Party, but in recent months has become a critic of some aspects of the Truman-Eisenhower "security" systems. As the Seattle **Times** observed:

"It is known . . . that Cain's outspoken criticism of the internal-security program has brought him into increasing disagreement with top Justice Dept. officials."

At one point in the hearings Sykes called to the stand Mrs. Mabel Conrad, secy.-treas. of the Pension Union, to authenticate a document offered as evidence. When government attorney Posey T. Kime sought to cross-examine her at length, Sykes moved to block him by withdrawing the document and was upheld by Cain. The government attorneys were so upset that they called Washington to ask if they could appeal the Cain ruling to the full five-man SACB.

TOMPKINS STEPS IN: Immediately after that call went through, William F. Tompkins, head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, wrote a letter to SACB chairman Thomas J. Herbert suggesting that Cain might be disqualified to conduct the hearing because of "prejudice." Tompkins wrote that he had just learned that Cain as a Senator in 1949 had denounced the Washington Pension Union as a "notorious Communist front." The letter added that the Justice Dept. would not have opposed a Pension Union motion to disqualify Cain if it had known of the remark last February.

Herbert sent the letter to Cain, and on Nov. 10 Cain read it into the record and asked the government attorneys for an explanation:

"I wish further elaboration . . . about what all this means."

But Sykes spoke up first:

"We're not making a motion to disqualify Board member Cain. We're not going to make a motion to disqualify."

WHITHER CAIN? The government attorneys then explained that they had considered it their "ethical duty to bring this matter before the Board . . ." There the matter rested last week with the question hanging: where was Harry P. Cain going?

Meanwhile the defense called a succession of witnesses, most of them past or present officials of the state welfare department, to show, in attorney Sykes' words, that the "principal and almost the sole purpose of the Washington Pension Union was the securing of adequate public assistance and social security in the State of Washington."

Evening Prayers

Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Mighty peace to keep.

That They let neither fire nor bomb,
Send me dreaming to kingdom come.

And so that, on rising, I may eat,
I pray the Boss my job to keep.

And that His surplus value will
Take only sweat and leave my soul.

If You please, Sir, give me these.
O bless our ancient liberties.

—Tom McGrath

CHINA DAILY NEWS

Editor Moy's term cut to one year, $25,000 fine

THE SENTENCE of Eugene T. Moy, editor of the **China Daily News**, was reduced last week from two years' imprisonment to one year. The fine of $25,000 against the paper stands.

Moy's attorney Paul L. Ross won the reduction in arguments before Federal Dist. Judge Sylvester J. Ryan. The Court of Appeals in upholding the verdict against Moy had commented on the severity of Judge Ryan's original sentence. In attempting to justify that sentence last week Judge Ryan said he had been guided by unidentified "informants" who had told him of "extortion" plots among Chinese to "ransom" relatives facing death in China. Ross pointed out that none of this had been charged against Moy and that he was being sentenced on grounds against which he was given no opportunity to defend himself in court. The U. S. Supreme Court has refused to review the case.

Moy's sole charged offense is that his paper accepted the advertisements of two Hong Kong banks offering to help overseas Chinese transmit funds to their families in China. The **China Daily News** is the only paper in the Western Hemisphere which supports the Chinese People's Republic. While seeking funds to pay the crippling fine, Moy announced that the paper will continue to publish during his imprisonment.

Two of the paper's stockholders, convicted with Moy, had their sentences reduced from one year in jail to six months each.

"The genius of the United States is not best or most in its executives or legislators, nor in its ambassadors or authors or colleges or churches or parlors, nor even in its newspapers or inventors—but always most in the common people."—WALT WHITMAN.

New racist groups

(Continued from Page 1)

"troublemaker"; and such a tag labels him fair game for attack. If he works for a white person, he is fired; if he lives in a white person's house, he is evicted; if he is a cotton farmer and has to get his cotton ginned in order to sell it, he is turned back by every cotton gin in the community; if he has been repaying a bank loan over, say, a five-year period, the note is declared due at once.

Names and addresses of Negro signers of desegregation petitions are published in paid newspaper ads for the attention of Council members. Negro merchants are then refused goods by white wholesalers; carpenters, bricklayers and plumbers, previously kept busy at well-paying jobs by white householders, can no longer get work in their trades. Products such as beers and soft drinks made in the North and distributed in the South are withheld from Southern Negro dealers.

WHITE PEOPLE HIT TOO: Homer Bigart, who made a 6,700-mile study-tour in 11 Southern states for the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, wrote: "Uglier than violence have been some methods used by these groups to force compliance." Nor are the victims always Negro. Bigart cites the case of a white teacher whose eldest daughter "had gone North to marry a Puerto Rican of mixed blood." That was just the "ammunition" needed to fire her from her job.

It was taken for granted that the Mississippi murderers of the Rev. George W. Lee at Belzoni, and of Lamar Smith at the Lincoln County Courthouse (they were registered voters who tried to persuade fellow Negroes to register) were Citizen Council members. It is acknowledged the Council's financial and moral props assured the acquittal of the kidnap-killers of Emmett Till.

HOWARD'S PREDICTIONS: Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard, medical director of the Friendship Clinic and Hospital in all-Negro Mound Bayou, Miss., and new-found hero to millions unaware that Mississippi produced Negro heroes, "bet" a Harlem audience recently 50 to 1 that three hate-inciting bills now before his state's legislature would pass. These laws would

- Make it a crime to oppose jimcrow.
- Make it a crime to sue to enforce the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow decisions.
- Empower all peace officers to arrest FBI agents "interfering" with white Mississippians.

The only reason the FBI now offers for not entering the Lee, Smith and Till cases is that the dead men's civil rights were not violated. Last week Deputy Gen. Wm. P. Rogers called the Till case a "black mark," but did not indicate that the Justice Dept. would take any action.

AN ANGRY PEOPLE: The Negro people are neither silent nor inactive. The Baltimore **Afro-American's** James Hicks learned how they felt when he covered the Milam-Bryant trial at Sumner, Miss. He wrote:

"With the full realization of what I'm saying, I'm forced to report that the attitude of the colored man in Mississippi today is, 'I've had enough—I cannot and I will not stand any more.'

"In the cotton fields of Mississippi, in the small cities and in the small towns, I have found the most patient of colored men rapidly reaching the breaking point.

"They express admiration for [Emmett Till's uncle] Moses Wright's coming back and testifying; but, at the same time, they say openly: 'He should have killed them both when they broke into his home.'"

Hicks concluded that if ever there was a time for the federal government "to step in and to cool off a hot situation, that time is now—in Mississippi." Dr. Howard has said that the "powder-keg" situation in Mississippi is likely to explode within six months into "trouble that will embarrass U. S. foreign policy the world over."

THE RISING TIDE: His words are being taken seriously. He is among the Southern Negroes the magazine **Ebony** said were

". . . spearheading the fight to counteract growing numbers of white Citizens Councils and the rising tide of hate fostered by the inevitability of desegregation . . . professional men [refusing to migrate to the North], educationally equipped, financially able and morally dedicated to cope with white opposition on its own grounds."

The NAACP is the Negro people's mass fighting organization. Today it has—as it has not had before—full support of most Negro churches and fraternal bodies, both membership and leadership. Most Southern NAACP branches are headed by ministers, physicians, teachers, and other professionals, a fact which may account for the Hearst press' recent listing of 11 such men as dangerous "pro-Communists."

UNITED NATIONS

Covenant of Human Rights shelved by colonial powers

By Kumar Goshal

MORE THAN EVER before the UN's current session has been involved in issues related to the colonial and under-developed areas of the world. In these discussions, the colonial powers have displayed unprecedented touchiness.

France walked out during the Algerian debate. Britain's threat to walk out forced the Trusteeship Committee to abandon its efforts to broaden the scope of its subcommittee on Information from Non-Selfgoverning Territories. Belgium refused to submit reports on the Congo, boycotted Trusteeship Committee debates.

The Union of S. Africa walked out in protest against continuation of the UN commission to inquire into its racial segregation policies; boycotted discussion of its refusal to submit reports on its former mandated territory of S-W Africa; severed its last link with the current UN session by closing its delegation's New York office because the UN agreed to listen again to the gentle pleading of Rev. Michael Scott on behalf of the S-W African tribes. The S. African delegation always has had the open or tacit support of the U. S.

HAIR SPLITTERS: The Trusteeship Committee, despite strong opposition from the colonial powers and their supporters, refused to limit the right of petition from trust territories. It approved a proposal suggesting that UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold explore means of assuring the personal appearance of petitioners from trust territories whom the committee had granted a hearing.

Embarrassing scenes punctuated the discussions on the UN Human Rights Covenant as Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold intervened in an unprecedented manner and the colonial powers split a hair by agreeing to the "principle" but not to the "right" of self-determination of peoples. Hammarskjold's attempt to switch the self-determination clause from the Covenant to a special committee evoked sharp comments from the Arab-Asian group.

HOT PROTESTS: Saudi Arabia's Baroody called Hammarskjold's intervention "most unfortunate" and "very peculiar," and wondered at the influence of the "colonial powers" with the UN Secretariat. India's Krishna Menon regretted Hammarskjold's surprise appearance, and Afghanistan's Pazhwak considered it "completely out of order." The Arab-Asian group was supported by Costa Rica's Nunez and the U.S. S.R.'s Morozov, who felt that Hammarskjold's intervention conflicted "with the traditional concepts of the role of the Secretary General."

The relentless opposition of the colonial powers to the clauses on self-determination and all peoples' inalienable rights to their natural resources seems to have forced the UN to shelve the Human Rights Covenant at the current session. Although a subcommittee of nine Asian-Arab-European-Latin American countries was expected to submit a revised version on Nov. 19, there was little hope of its passage this year.

U. S. BLOCKS GRANT: The U. S., which had supported the Covenant three years ago, tried to save face by proposing a UN advisory service to governments interested in human rights. The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee approved the resolution; the only opposition came from realistic Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and Britain, who abstained on the grounds that the proposal was unnecessary and would not be used by governments anyway.

But the anti-colonial nations were determined to pursue the self-determination issue. They insisted on the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee taking up draft resolutions submitted by the Economic and Social Council, calling for a survey of present foreign control of people's natural resources and a study of alleged denial of self-determination to peoples deserving it.

Debate over the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) unprecedentedly sponsored by 32 members, generated some heat and shed some light on the policy of the colonial powers.

SUNFED asks for the initially modest sum of $250,000,000, to be spent in grants or low interest loans to under-developed countries to finance the construction of roads, railways, schools and other such basic projects. Nevertheless, the U. S. refused to support it until a more favorable "economic and political climate" was achieved.

POVERTY MEANS DEPENDENCE: In the course of the debate Sweden's Mrs. Ulla Lindstrom criticized the U. S. for seeking to make economic aid to undeveloped countries dependent on political conditions. Noting that Washington has tied its contribution to the UN technical assistance program to the condition that "Communist China ought not to be admitted to the UN," Mrs. Lindstrom said that economic assistance

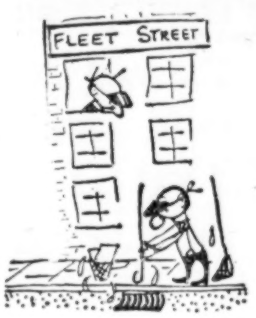
"... should be a fight against poverty without political sideglances of any kind. We all know that it is next to impossible to be both poor and independent at the same time. We may then like or dislike the political views which the assisted countries take in regard to their own form of government or when casting their votes in the UN."

The fate of SUNFED seems hopeless at the present UN session, although some European countries and the socialist nations have promised to contribute to the fund.

On the issue of admission of new members, the U. S., as on the Human Rights Covenant, has reversed its former position and bewildered even its own friends. Since 1945 UN membership has grown from 51 nations to 60, Indonesia being the last to be admitted. Admission to the UN requires seven affirmative votes from the Security Council, including the votes of the five permanent members.

BEWILDERING ACTION: To break the deadlock over applications that have piled up, Canada two months ago sounded out other nations on a "package" deal to admit 13 Western-sponsored states (Italy, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Portugal, Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Laos, Jordan, Lybia, Nepal and Spain) and five nations sponsored by the socialist countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Outer Mongolia). Believing they had the major powers' support, two weeks ago 25 nations sponsored a resolution based on the Canadian proposal.

U. S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge was reported to have asked Soviet delegate Kuznetsov if Moscow would agree to the admission of all 18, and to have received a favorable reply. Nevertheless, Lodge later bewildered his colleagues by agreeing to support all applicants except Outer Mongolia. Western observers recalled that in 1946 the U. S. was willing to admit Outer Mongolia as part of a package deal, and U. S. ally Chiang was one of the first to support Outer Mongolia's candidacy. (Both the Chiang government and People's China have recognized Outer Mongolia.) At GUARDIAN press time, Lodge had not budged from his position.



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"Any more spies-in-the-Foreign-Office stuff down there?"

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

As FDR started the Warm Springs Foundation, the President should start a heart disease foundation, so that all the people in the U. S. could derive benefits in case of such afflictions. It is now the psychological moment to agitate for a universal, legislated health bill for the benefit of all the people of the country. I am sure the President will support such a bill and reciprocate the sympathy shown by the people in his present affliction.

Lionel Harmon

CALENDAR

Chicago

THREE DAY BAZAAR
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BARROWS DUNHAM, author "Man Against Myth," "Giant in Chains," federally "out of contempt" since October but professionally "in exile" (philosophy, Temple U.) since 1953, speaks Fri., Dec. 2, 8 p.m., on "WHAT TO THINK AND HOW TO THINK IT." 2936 W. 8th St., blk. e. of Vermont. Adm: $1. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

Boston

SCOTT NEARING "Looks at Our World," Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m., Community Church Forum, 565 Boylston St.

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New York

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Hear **PABLO GARCIA RODRIQUEZ,** Smith Act Victim of the Witch-Hunt in Puerto Rico. Sun., Nov. 27, 8:30 p.m. ALP, 2688 B'way (nr. 103d St.) Admission free.

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) continues its international film festival with **"THE FLESH IS WEAK"** (Italian, 1950), Nov. 26. A famous trio of actors—Vittorio de Sica (maker of "Bicycle Thief"), Isa Miranda and Gino Cervi — in a satiric comedy plotted around a pretended death for the purpose of collecting a large insurance policy. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"BORDER STREET"** (Polish, 1949).

JEFFERSON SUNDAY FORUMS
Nov. 27—WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT GENEVA: Report From an American Correspondent Who Was There. Speaker: Joseph Clark.
Dec. 4—"WHY JOHNNY CAN'T READ." Has Mr. Flesch All the Answers: Problems of Teaching Reading in Our Schools. Speakers: Celia Zitron and Ray Wechsler.
Dec. 11—SIGMUND FREUD: FROM SCIENTIST TO PSEUDO-SCIENTIST. Freud's development from Neurologist to Psychoanalyst. Speaker: Dr. Harry K. Wells.
Dec. 18—THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY: HISTORY AND MYTH. Jewish Revolutionary Struggles and Conflicts within the Early Christian Community. Speaker: Benjamin Levine.
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575 6th Av. 8 p.m. $1.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

Exciting, novel **Festival of Music** on Jewish Themes, presented by **JEWISH LIFE.** Martha Schlamme, Pete Seeger, Nadyne Brewer; pianist, Alan Booth. Jewish music of the U.S., Europe and Israel. First performance anywhere of "A Ballad of August Bondi," music by Serge Hovey, text by Aaron Kramer, Jewish Young Folk Singers, Bob De Cormier, Conductor. Fri. eve., Dec. 2, Brooklyn Academy of Music. Adm.: $2.50, 1.80, 1.50, 1.25. Tickets at Jewish Life, 22 E. 17th St., Rm. 601, N.Y.C. WA 4-5740.

LECTURE AND FOLK DANCE
Sun., Nov. 27, 7 p.m., at 189 Second Av. (2nd floor). Adm. $1. Lecturer: Sidney Finkelstein on "Influence of Folk Music on Classical Composers." Followed by folk dancing, taught and called by Edith Segal. Auspices: Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus.

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—See Pages 6-7

Weavers to give holiday concert

THE folksinging quartet, The Weavers, who disbanded in 1952, will get together again for a one-night appearance at New York's Carnegie Hall Saturday evening Dec. 24, in a holiday concert of "Folk Songs Around The World."

Before breaking up three years ago, The Weavers were top record-sellers, having made such hit records as "Goodnight Irene" and "On Top Of Old Smokey." The group consists of Ronnie Gilbert, Pete Seeger, Fred Hellerman and Lee Hays.

about a BOOK and a BAZAAR

In "Women Against Slavery," Samuel Sillen's inspiring new book, we found this quote:

"One of Mrs. Chapman's major activities (in 1841) was the ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR held annually in Boston for over 20 years. These affairs were mainly fund-raising functions. They were indispensable for keeping up the publications and organizing work of the Abolitionist movement. Held during the Christmas season, the bazaars sold books, art objects, confections, house furnishings. Sewing circles throughout New England worked the year round to produce needlework for the fairs."

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The author corrects the critic

THE ATOM SPY HOAX
by William A. Reuben

THE **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** devotes its entire October "Books" section of two pages to a review by Harold Green, a government attorney, of my book, **The Atom Spy Hoax.** The reviewer finds the book "extreme," criticizes its legal analysis of various cases but in the main devotes itself to an attack on my presentation of the facts in behalf of Alfred Dean Slack, a scientist now serving a 15-year jail sentence under the Espionage Act for allegedly delivering "information relating to the national defense" to a Soviet agent. The reviewer makes many grave and damaging misstatements about the Slack case, which was and is without doubt an outright miscarriage of justice.

In the interest of bringing the facts in the Slack Case to the attention of his fellow-scientists, I have written to the **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** correcting Mr. Green's statements and asking that space be found for my answer.

Mr. Green summed up the Slack Case this way: "Slack admitted that he had turned over to [Harry] Gold certain reports as to a new explosive being produced at the government plant where he was employed as well as a sample of the explosive, and he entered an unqualified plea of guilty pursuant to which he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment."

HERE IS MY ANSWER, from the case records:

Slack never admitted turning anything over to Gold, or even knowing him. Slack said he had turned over certain information to a person named "Harry Martin," whom the FBI later told him was Harry Gold.

At a rehearing of his case in 1952, Slack testified that during the '30's he did chemical research on a free-lance basis for the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the Soviet purchasing agency in the U.S. No classified material was in any way involved. Slack obtained these assignments, he said, through his brother-in-law, a man named Briggs, who was then employed by Amtorg. Briggs died in 1939 and subsequently Slack himself got in touch with Amtorg for new free-lance assignments. As a result Slack prepared a number of reports for the man known to him as "Harry Martin." One of these, turned over after World War II began, provided the basis of the charge against him under the Espionage Act.

This report did not concern "a new explosive" but a compound known as trimethylenetrinitramine, first known, made and patented in Germany in 1898. Slack's unchallenged testimony was that every word of the report was based on "literature which I got out of the library in Cincinnati."

FOR THIS OFFENSE, Slack was arrested and held in $100,000 bail. The Court appointed two attorneys to represent him, Kyle King, who took no active part in the case, and Ray Jenkins, later to achieve national fame in the Army-McCarthy hearings.

According to Slack's uncontested testimony at the 1952 rehearing, Jenkins first told him that the case would be thrown out of court but a month later advised him to plead guilty, claiming that he could negotiate a "deal" for Slack to get out of prison after three years. Slack protested but was advised that "public hysteria" would make an acquittal impossible and that a trial at that time might result in a death penalty.

SLACK IS NOW IN ATLANTA Penitentiary. Before he returned there in 1952 to finish his 15-year sentence he told the Court:

"If the discussion of public and published information constitutes a criminal offense, then no textbooks can be written, no men of science can talk, and no one will feel free to write."

—WILLIAM A. REUBEN

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the SPECTATOR

History will keep accounts

Following are excerpts from a recent sermon of the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, based on John Wexley's book The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The Spectator selects it at this Thanksgiving time—the third anniversary of the transfer to Alcatraz prison of scientist Morton Sobell. He was sent there to serve out a 30-year sentence following denial of appeals from his conviction with the Rosenbergs for conspiracy to commit espionage.

The sermon may influence friends to join in seeking Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz and helping to get a new trial.

JOHN WEXLEY'S BOOK marshals the evidence most impressively to say that the Rosenberg affair is the latest major case of frame-up in the long and tragic procession of frame-ups throughout history. He is not impartial, nor am I. The late Professor Gaetano Salvemini, for many years at Harvard University, rightly said at one time: "Impartiality is either a delusion of the simple-minded, a banner of the opportunist, or the boast of the dishonest. Nobody is entitled to be unbiased toward truth or falsehood." I sincerely believe Mr. Wexley has brought hitherto hidden and suppressed facts to the light of day for all of us to use in making our own judgment. Let us remember Jonathan Swift's moving words centuries ago: "Falsehood flies and truth comes limping after it."

As one still seared by the memory of colossal error in the Dreyfus case, the Mooney case, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Scottsboro case, to say nothing of study of earlier crimes at Salem in the 17th century and Haymarket Square, Chicago, in the 19th, I want to see Americans become far more sensitive to the evil of the frame-up as an ugly but indubitable reality in our public life. It can be abated, and to a large degree ended, if we learn some of the dynamics of public education.

THESE DYNAMICS include a knowledge of moral corruption in high places, the use of sick and admittedly dishonest informers, the impatient trial of the accused in the midst of inflammatory headlines, and finally the consolidation of high authority in the White House, the Dept. of Justice and the Supreme Court to end further review of the case and complete the execution of the victims. It is not too much to believe we can have legal redress in time to be effective against such frustrations of justice in a real democracy. None of us are secure from the long arm of the frame-up until such dynamics become a part of our common life.

We can decrease and in due time, I believe, end the reign of credulity throughout society at large, at least in its more lethal operations in gas chamber and electric chair. I would remind you, even in this brief statement today, of Professor Borchard's book **Convicting the Innocent**, published 20 years ago by the Yale University Press, a sobering study of 65 innocent persons charged and convicted in this country. We all suffer by this sickness of closing the doors on our more infamous cases of injustice.

I NOT ONLY WANT hundreds of letters to flow tomorrow and in the days ahead to U. S. Director of Prisons James V. Bennett, Washington 25, D. C., asking for the transfer of Morton Sobell from Alcatraz. I also want all of us to study this case with infinite care, through the pages of Mr. Wexley's book and other sources you may choose to read, so that you may understand better the words of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, words spoken the day after the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: "It is not amiss to point out that this court has never reviewed the record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without the affirmance of the fairness of the trial by the highest court in the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out. . . ."

We are a proud people in America and we cherish the democratic ideal. But it is an exacting and demanding principle we have taken to our hearts. This ideal must, if it is to be successful, command us to exercise far more responsibility in our press, our courts, our homes, our own minds than we have yet mustered in hours of crisis, when the diseased and the terrorized cry for blood is heard in the land.

THIS CRY asks no questions. But the world asked questions before the switch was thrown at Sing Sing. Distant farmers, the Pope in the Vatican, the President of France, Vincent Auriol; Harold Urey, Nobel Prize winner; Justice James Wolfe of the Utah Supreme Court, and the millions of plain folk in many lands asked questions—again and again. Americans in a tidal wave of deep concern asked questions. But it was not enough . . . any more than it was enough to save two Italian anarchists in Boston a generation ago.

But this is a case that is not closed. A young father on a prison island in San Francisco Bay can be freed, if those of us persuaded of his innocence show sufficient concern in the immediate days ahead. I do not know whether the Greenglasses or Harry Gold or Max Elitcher will ever confess their ignoble role in this case. Whether I live to read of such admissions is unimportant. But it is important that you and I banish the frame-up as a primitive device of torture in our land. We can find and punish the guilty without terrorizing the innocent or silencing the millions who fear reprisals if they speak their heart's compulsion. It is for our country's health I care the most, and that is something of your making and mine. . . .

History will hold us accountable.